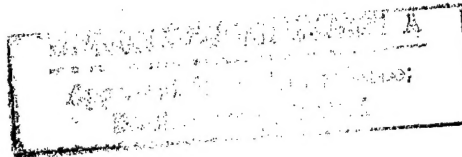


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PARTY AND STATE

APPLYING WESTERN LEARNING, UPHOLDING CHINESE LEARNING DISCUSSED

Shanghai FUDAN XUEBAO [FUDAN JOURNAL] in Chinese No 1, 1982 pp 67-74

[Article by Tang Qixue [3282 1142 1331], a History Department graduate student]

[Text] "Chinese learning for fundamentals and Western learning for applications," a popular Chinese slogan in the late 19th century, was not coined by Zhang Zhidong, as widely claimed by historians. At that time there were people who used theories and tools, essentials and nonessentials, or principals and subordinates to stand for "fundamentals and applications," or else traditional learning and new learning, or sacred learning and foreign learning for "Chinese learning" and "Western learning" respectively. The slogan became an elaborate ideology from its casual beginnings.

(1) The power of new technology and new equipment demonstrated by the British forces in the Opium War drew the attention of some Chinese to the advanced technology of the West. Wei Yuan, an eminent thinker who advanced the theory of "learning the best skills from the foreigners to control the foreigners," called for the study of Western mechanical equipment, including the sextant, steamship, steam engine and automatic positioning device, especially Western battleships, firearms, and "the method of troop training." Wei Yuan's views were the forerunner of the movement to learn from the West. Due to his limited knowledge of the West, he said the strong point of the West was their "skills" which he believed "could be learned in 1 year and thoroughly mastered in a couple of years" by the elite troops and talented craftsmen of Fujian and Guangdong provinces. He was convinced that the Western aggressors were good at naval warfare but weak in land warfare. To him, the acquisition of Western learning was only a matter of strategy.

If we say the First Opium War humbled the Chinese rulers and the Second Opium War scared them, then the Taiping Revolution made them tremble with fear. In 1861, Feng Guifeng, a native of Wuxian, Jiangsu, who was Lin Zexu's favorite student, "wrote 40 protests on the crises," setting forth a framework of the concept of "Chinese fundamentals and Western applications." He believed China trailed behind the West in four different areas: "trailing behind the foreigners in tapping human talent, trailing behind the foreigners in exploiting natural resources, trailing behind the foreigners in bridging the gap between the ruler and his subjects, and trailing behind the foreigners in

making theory agree with practice." In addition to acquiring the best skills of the West, he recommended "absorption of Western learning," and called for the establishment of Tongwen Institutes [foreign language schools] and translation offices at Shanghai and Guangzhou to train specialists, to translate foreign books, and to study the Western skill of "manufacturing equipments." He also recommended that imperial examination degrees be granted to those who learned well. Feng Guifeng's political reforms called for revival of the ancient system of folksong collection "to bring about mutual understanding between the government and the governed," respect for "public opinions" on government personnel selection, and allowing the educated to express political views. While advocating learning from the West, Feng Guifeng also stressed Chinese learning, and favored a combination of the two so as to supplement the Chinese ethical teachings with foreign technology to achieve prosperity and strength.

(2) After its inception, the theory of "Chinese fundamentals and Western applications" evolved along two different lines, the development of the views of the Westernizationists on the one hand and that of those intellectuals leaning toward capitalist reforms and the capitalist reformers on the other.

The Westernizationists, a unique faction of the landlord reformists, had emerged after the Second Opium War, at first led by Yixin, Zeng Guofan, Zuo Zongtang, and Li Hongzhang, and then by Zhang Zhidong after 1894. They also wanted to learn from the West how to rescue the feudalist regime. As prominent members of the feudalist ruling camp, they did not want to abandon their feudalist stand in spite of their craving for Western learning. Their guiding ideology was "Chinese fundamentals and Western applications." In 1862, Zeng Guofan said: "Self-strengthening rests primarily on better government and the appointment of virtuous people, and secondarily on learning to manufacture such equipment as cannons and steamships." A similar theme was repeated by Zuo Zongtang in 1865. In the same year, Li Hongzhang said: "The Chinese culture and institutions which differ from the barbarian custom of the foreign countries are what account for the peace, security and stability of the empire. I do not subscribe to the view that the only way to bring peace out of turmoil and to turn weakness into strength is to learn to manufacture machines. Both basic policies and piecemeal measures are needed to run a government. An acute illness requires immediate cure, but that does not necessarily lead to total convalescence and recovery." In 1872 when the government was about to send students to America, Li Hongzhang ruled that while abroad they must take up both Chinese learning and Western learning simultaneously, so as not to become "captivated by unorthodox learning." That is to say, the Western learning is unorthodox learning good only for temporary cure. It takes Chinese learning to build up the real vitality of the country.

The theory of "Chinese fundamentals and Western applications" entertained by the Westernizationists did not have any definitive interpretations because "Western learning" had been a subject of many different interpretations. Its flexibility helped enrich Feng Guifeng's notion of "adopting Western learning" and "manufacturing foreign machines." In the 1860's, the Westernizationists who were suppressing the peasant uprisings and resisting foreign

aggressions took upon themselves to build a modern military industry. In so doing, they discovered that China had to learn to manufacture machine tools to make its military industry independent. In 1864 Li Hongzhang recommended: "The way to make China strong is to learn to manufacture foreign weapons; the way to learn to manufacture foreign weapons is to procure weapon-making tools, copying their method without hiring their people." Gradually the Westernizationists realized what was involved in the manufacture of weapons and machines. Li Hongzhang noticed: "The Western countries which rely on mathematics and exhaustive planning to manufacture their weapons are able to make continuous improvement and turn out better products all the time." Yi Xin pointed out in 1866: "The foreigners depend on astronomy and mathematics to manufacture machines and firearms, as well as to run their shipping and military operations." As a result, the Shanghai Arsenal and the Fuzhou Shipyard each added a technical school. In 1867, the Tongwen Institute in Beijing offered courses in astronomy and mathematics, while the Shanghai Arsenal set up a new translation office.

In the 1870's, the Americans and Europeans came to China to operate steamships, telegraphic services and to build railroads as China sent students and diplomatic representatives abroad. These people wrote voluminous travel accounts, diaries and letters which helped the Westernizationists understand the West much more realistically. What surprised them the most was the rise of Japan, which hitherto had been victimized like China by foreign aggression and unequal treaties. It began in the mid-1850's to learn from the West and developed very rapidly following the Meiji Reform in 1868. In the following year, 1869, Emperor Meiji declared proudly "to explore the expanse of the oceans to make the presence of Japan felt all over the globe." The rise of Japan, China's next door neighbor, alarmed the Westernizationists who were shocked by the Japanese invasion of Taiwan in 1874. Li Hongzhang warned that Japan, which had been learning from the West, "has become more powerful and more ambitious every day. Convinced of its dominant position in the East, it looked down on China and invaded Taiwan. The Western countries, though powerful, are 70,000 li away. Japan, which spies on us just a door away, poses a constant threat to China." Li Hongzhang and others like him were anxious to follow Japan's example to learn from the West. But they found China not only trailing behind the West but also short of capital and qualified people. To "raise huge capital," Li Hongzhang proposed to learn the Western method of accumulating wealth. "To accumulate wealth" therefore became one of the top priorities of the Westernizationists in the 1870's and 1880's, their major theme of Western learning in the next couple of decades. They worked out five ways to accumulate wealth, namely, mining; steamships, railroads and telegraph; textile; commerce; and opium production. As for the training of personnel, Li Hongzhang said: "Calligraphy and essay writing are too superficial to educated people." He proposed that "the examination system be modified to include Westernization as a course for earning degrees." He even recommended that each coastal province should have a "bureau for foreign learning" and should send people abroad to study science and technology.

Even though the activities of the Westernizationists before 1894 had broadened the horizon, their suppression of the peasant uprisings and the creeping influence of their bureaucratic abuses in the new political programs actually

arrested the progress of the Chinese society. The theory of "Chinese fundamentals and Western applications" they espoused was in fact reactionary in nature.

Another school of intellectuals who favored capitalist reforms, on the other hand, went all out to expound the new thought of Feng Guifeng and their own projects. Wang Tao may be considered their representative in the years prior to the Sino-French War.

Wang Tao, a primary degree graduate who had assumed a pseudonym "Huang Yuan" to work for the Taiping Army, fled to Hong Kong when the Qing Government ordered his arrest. Later, he went to Europe to pursue his education. After returning to Hong Kong, he edited in 1874 the XUNHUAN RIBAO and published many articles on reforms and self-strengthening. Having lived abroad and in Hong Kong, he knew the European countries quite well. The backwardness of China, the humiliation sustained by his fatherland, and the failure of the Westernizationists to learn from the West drove him to reach out for something better. Writing for publication in Hong Kong, he attacked the abuses in China very bluntly and pushed very vigorously for reforms. He agreed with Feng Guifeng that "while we learn about equipment from the West, we must rely on our own fundamental principles, because Confucianism is the infallible way of the learned." Unlike Feng Guifeng, Wang Tao was in favor of political reforms which he regarded as the "basis" of China's self-strengthening. In commending the parliamentary system of the West which he admired, Wang Tao said: [in the Western countries] "the ruler and his subjects work harmoniously. All political matters, big or small, are carefully deliberated and agreed upon before put into practice. Consequently, there is no misgovernment at home, and the whole country is united in defense against outside aggressions. They devote their efforts to domestic development in time of peace, and sacrifice their personal interests to fight for justice in time of emergency. They work so harmoniously that the whole country acts as if coordinated by one nerve center. Keeping the prosperity of their country above the personal concern of the ruler and his subjects, they have been doing well at home and abroad, as attested by their ability to penetrate the expanse of China in recent decades." The opposite was true in China where, as Wang Tao had observed, the emperor was revered at the expense of his subjects, and rigid official ranks kept the government and the governed far apart. He believed the best way to make China prosperous and strong was "to bring the government and the governed close together." In discussing the problem of making the people prosperous, Wang Tao said: "The people will not observe the rules of propriety unless their granaries are full. The best way 'to govern' is to make them 'prosperous.'" Consequently, "those who want to govern and yet do not make the country prosperous and strong simply do not know the art of government." To acquire wealth for the people or to acquire wealth for the officials was the issue which distinguished the intellectuals interested in capitalist reforms from the Westernizationists. Wang Tao also proposed abolishing the eight-legged essay of the old examination system and establishing civilian and military schools in all the cities and towns to teach useful Chinese and Western knowledge in order to bring up qualified people versed in both "basic principles and practical applications." He accused the Westernizationists for the first time of being "unimaginative, easygoing,

whitewashing, and complacent," failing to bring up qualified personnel and not knowing that all these were part and parcel of an "overall reform program."

China's defeat in the Sino-French War, which it did not really lose, made it even more vulnerable to further British and Russian aggressions. The threat of imminent foreign aggression was compounded on the one hand by mounting abuses in the new reform programs run by the Westernizationists, and on the other by the gradual rise of private capitalism as a social force in China since the 1880's. This was accompanied by the rise of a group of intellectuals who favored capitalist reforms. Having lived abroad or in Hong Kong, most of them had a better grasp of Western learning, even though they were in favor of reforms based on Chinese learning. For instance, Zheng Guanying believed: "Chinese learning is fundamental, while Western learning is supplemental. With Chinese learning supplemented by Western learning, one should be able to know the order of priorities, weigh the necessary changes, and exercise discretion in handling politics." Zhen Zhi said the Chinese "way" and the Western "tools" should be combined for mutual emulation and refinement. Tang Zheng proposed to "seek physical means to safeguard metaphysical principles." The specifics of these recommendations were at least unique and novel. Their remedies for the economy were "mercantilism" and "commercial wars." To protect China's national industry and commerce, Zheng Guanying and his friends called for protective tariff, higher import duties and lower export duties, and the removal of the foreigners in the Customs Administration to prevent favoritism. They asked for the abolition of the likin system to encourage the flow of Chinese commodities, modification of government policies which "plague commerce," and the establishment of a ministry of commerce to protect the Chinese merchants. They were anxious to introduce a system of new education to China. Zheng Guanying said anyone well versed in Western learning should be granted an official ranking even though his eight-legged essay was not so good. On the other hand, he should be "disqualified" if he did not know Western learning, no matter how good his eight-legged essay was.

Speaking for private capitalism, these intellectuals interested in capitalist reforms demanded the right to express their political views. They wanted "extensive right" to publish newspapers which would help promote new technology, develop trade, and report on conditions in foreign countries. They wanted the newspapers "run by the people" but "headed by eminent gentry." They were also interested in parliamentary government. Zheng Guanying accused those who alleged that "parliaments are good for the West but not for China, and that they had worked in the past but won't work now" of being ignorant and unable to see how they could benefit both China and the foreign countries. However, they wanted to limit the membership of a parliament to government officials and the gentry, even though the government officials and the gentry at that time were diehards. They also wanted to limit its authority to "deliberations" on important matters and "the exchange of the views of the government and the governed," and let the ruler decide what to implement. This kind of parliament was obviously meant to be a consultative rather than a decision-making body. Zheng Guanying, however, wanted the deliberative body to "control the overall policy of government" while the emperor reigns but does not rule."

These intellectuals also gave Chinese learning a new interpretation. They found that "the governments of the West are excellent except that they fell behind China in upholding the three cardinal relationships." That is to say, by identifying Chinese learning with the three cardinal relationships and five established virtues, they kept such matters as political and legal institutions out of the realm of Chinese learning. They had inadvertently used Western capitalist ideology to blast the decadent Chinese dogmas. Song Yuren said: "The political plight" of today was due to thousands of years of "emperor-worship at the expense of his subjects." Zhen Qiu approved of "anyone working to make the country prosper" but would not want to have "the whole country waiting on one person," which he thought "is not the intent of the Creator." To them, kings and emperors were not sacred. They favored equality of the sexes. Zhen Zhi said: "According to the 'Book of Changes,' the way of heaven brings forth the male and the way of the earth brings forth the female, each leading a life to preserve universal harmony. So the ancients did not favor either sex, but taught equality of male and female." They asked the government "to ban feet binding" and establish schools for women. This marked the beginning of the emancipation of women in China.

These intellectuals, worthy to be called the most progressive people in China at that time, represented, however, a duality of both the old and the new. They wanted to copy the parliamentary system of the West but in form only; they wanted to establish schools for women and "loosen the female feet," but only to enable them to play the role of "virtuous housewives and good mothers"; and they wanted to develop private capitalism and criticized the Westernizationists, but still relied on the latter to a certain degree. In a word, these people who had espoused the "fundamentals" of the capitalist countries were losing faith in the Chinese traditional "fundamentals." In spite of their leaning toward the capitalist reforms, they still could not shake off the feudalist ideological and political constraints. Limited in numerical strength, each waging his own campaign without any defined area of action and organization, they were unable to make their influence felt until after 1894.

(3) The seizure of Taiwan by Japan in 1895 prompted the imperialist Western powers to converge on China to seek their own spheres of influence as if to dismember the Chinese empire. "Mounting national peril," the threat of foreign aggression, forced the Chinese people to fight for self-preservation. The Sino-Japanese War of 1894 upset them the most. Having spent decades to learn from the West, "Japan, a petty state," had finally triumphed over the Chinese navy and army in the war of 1894. This deadly blow shook up many Chinese. Confronted with this devastating defeat and damaging internal contradictions, the Qing Government began to relax its ideological control. This ushered in a sudden outburst of ideological activities. It became a fad for the intellectuals and enlightened officials to discuss politics openly. Between 1895 and 1898 there were over 300 civic bodies, newspapers and schools engaged in promoting Western learning. The advocates of reforms were vocal not only in the coastal regions but also in inland provinces. As books and publications on modernization and reforms multiplied, earlier works on reforms, such as "Xiaobinlu Kangyi" and "Shengshi Weiyao," reappeared in reprint after reprint. There were also collections of sets of books on Western learning, such as Liang Qichao's "Xizheng Congshu" and Zhang Zhidong's "Xixue

Ziqiang Congshu." Within those few years, "Xiaobinlu Kangyi" appeared in 7 different editions and "Shengshi Weiyan" in more than 10 different editions. According to Guangxuehui's accounts, the proceeds from its sale of books rose from 800 yuan in 1893 to over 2,000 yuan in 1895, over 6,000 yuan in 1896, 12,000 yuan in 1897, and 18,000 yuan in 1898. The sale increased 20 times within a few years.

"Chinese fundamentals and Western applications," a popular slogan at that time, was used not only by the neo-Westernizationists and the Guangxuehui, but also by the diehards and the capitalist reformers. But they differed a great deal in substance.

1. The "Chinese Fundamentals and Western Applications" of the Neo-Westernizationists

As reforms had made Japan strong and as "China's sovereignty and territory had been clipped," a considerable number of bureaucrats, including Li Hongzao and Rong Lu, both grand secretaries, Weng Tonghe and Sun Jianai, both secretaries of state, left the diehard camp to support reforms. Even Emperor Guangxu was in favor of reforms. "The whole country is discussing Westernization," as the description goes. These bureaucrats and top provincial commanders, such as Zhang Zhidong, might be called neo-Westernizationists as distinguished from the old Westernizationists headed by Zeng Guofan, Zuo Zongtang and Li Hongzhang. Their reform program was still "Chinese fundamentals and Western applications." Speaking in August 1896 on the policy of the Jingshi Daxuetang (Beijing University under the Qing Regime), Sun Jianai said very emphatically: "The establishment of the university of the capital is based on Chinese learning, supplemented by Western learning. Since Chinese learning is for fundamentals and Western learning for applications, Western learning may be used to supplement what the Chinese learning lacks or misses. This is the intent of the founder of the university." In 1898, Emperor Guangxu asked "officials of all ranks, including nobilities and commoners, to exert themselves and make a determined effort to strengthen the country by relying on the judicious teachings of the sages as a basis, while studying intensively all applicable Western learning to remedy the shortcomings and pedantic errors, ...to make themselves sagacious and all-round."

"The "Chinese fundamentals and Western applications" subscribed to by the neo-Westernizationists differed substantially from that of the old Westernizationists. Most of the neo-Westernizationists regarded "changing the established methods"--educational reform, reform of the examination system, and bringing up qualified people--as the fundamentals to learn from the West. They were fond of Fenf Guifeng's "Xiaobinlu Kangyi" but criticized Zhen Zhi and Weng Tonghe as "dedicated to making China prosperous and strong but aiming too high."

2. The "Chinese Fundamentals and Western Applications" Envisaged by Guangxuehui

Guangxuehui was organized by foreign residents in China, mostly missionaries, who had close relations with the Chinese political circles. Dissatisfied with

China's outmoded method of production, inefficient administration, and mounting anti-foreign religion movement, they urged China to inaugurate reforms to help the imperialist aggressors. Young John Allen, an American missionary, suggested that "the way to keep pace with the West is to blend together the Chinese traditions and Japanese power." His Chinese secretary, Cai Erkang, proposed using the sacred learning for fundamentals and foreign learning for applications. Timothy Richard, a British missionary, said: "The teachings of Emperor Yao, Emperor Shun, Duke Zhou and Confucius are applicable all over the world, and Chinese scholars are respected in Europe. But China is ineffective in supporting her people." His idea of supporting the people was "to trade with all countries." According to him, "the top priority of reform is to build railroads before training troops." He also said China ought to hire foreign personnel. They all wanted to control the Chinese government.

In 1896, Shen Shoukang, chief editor, 1889-1894, of "Wanguo Kongbao" published by Guangxuehui, wrote an article on "Kuangshice" [A Program for Meeting the Emergency] in which he proposed that China should learn useful science and technology from the West, but should not abandon its traditions for complete Westernization. He said: "Both Chinese learning and Western learning have their strong points and weak points. What the Chinese should do is to use Chinese learning for fundamentals and Western learning for applications. Even though Western learning is urgently needed now in the wake of negotiations with the foreign powers, any Chinese who specializes exclusively in Western learning is likely to change his mind the moment he sees anything new, acquire foreign lifestyle, abandon the Chinese fundamentals and finally end up as rejects to the world of scholars. Both young and old should keep this in mind. They should extract the essence of Western learning, master its strong points, and avoid superficialities. Otherwise, they would be despised by us Chinese and ridiculed by the Westerners." The records I have examined so far indicate that Shen Shoukang was the first person to coin the slogan "Chinese learning is for fundamentals and Western learning is for applications."

The "Chinese fundamentals and Western applications" espoused by the Guangxuehui group, though somewhat religiously oriented, agreed substantially with that of the Westernizationists.

3. The "Chinese Fundamentals and Western Applications" of the Diehards

At the height of the reform movement, even the diehards showed some interest in "Chinese fundamentals and Western applications." Huaidabu, secretary of state for the Board of Rites, a well-known diehard, said: "There is a lot to learn about the Western political system, but such a study should be based on the fundamental Chinese teachings of the cardinal human relationships." Wang Xianqian, a diehard of Hunan, accused Liang Qichao and others of preaching democracy and equality at the Shiwu School of Hunan against the policy of the school which called for "concentration on Chinese learning with allowance for the best of Western learning." The diehards were known for their veiled opposition to reforms. It was not until the 1898 Coup which dismantled the new political reform that the insincerity of the diehards in the pursuit of Western learning was finally brought to light.

4. The "Chinese Fundamentals and Western Applications" of the Capitalist Reformers

Prior to the 1898 Coup, there were many capitalist reformers interested in "Chinese fundamentals and Western applications." The Qiangxuehui organized by Kang Youwei in Shanghai pledged that the pursuit of both Chinese and Western learning "should be based on Confucian classics." Liang Qichao was one of the reformers who loved to talk about "Chinese fundamentals and Western applications." He said: "No matter what kind of school one goes to, either in the East or the West, one must master the learning of his own country before he could master the learning of other countries. If he did not master the learning of his own country, he would not be able to master the learning of another country. The trouble with Chinese scholars is that those who major in Chinese learning simply refuse to have anything to do with Western learning, while those who major in Western learning refuse to have anything to do with Chinese learning. Consequently, the two became polarized rather than coordinated. Since Chinese learning is for fundamentals and Western learning for applications, the two are complementary and interdependent. One must have both the fundamentals and the applications to be all round. Indiscriminate pursuit of Western learning not founded on the fundamentals is not only futile but also conducive to unworthy practices. That is why our schools have not been able to turn out all-round talents." The reform faction headed by Kang (Youwei) and Liang (Qichao) inherited and expanded in three unique areas the "Chinese fundamentals and Western applications" entertained by the intellectuals of the pre-1894 era:

First, they asked for a full-scale reform modeled on that of Japan. Before 1894, most progressive Chinese agreed that Japan's all-out effort to copy the West had been fruitful, but they thought Japan's full-scale Westernization was a "mere craving for frills" (according to Wang Tao). In 1898, Kang Youwei wanted "to take Japan as the guide and the blueprint" of a complete reform, and submitted to Emperor Guangxu "A Study of the Reform in Japan."

Secondly, Kang Youwei and his associates advocated democratic rights and demanded the right to participate in government. The Western theory of natural rights and the separation of powers had appeared in "Wangua Kongbao" as early as 1875, but it had little impact on the Chinese. In the spring of 1895, Yan Fu took the lead to advocate democratic rights. He said: "All the emperors since Qin Shihuang were but marauders who robbed the country. How did they rob the country? They did it by robbing the people... The people are the true masters of the land..." He found support in the reformers, the proponents of "Chinese fundamentals and Western applications." While in the capital for imperial examination, Kang Youwei petitioned the throne "to govern with the people." Wang Kangnian said: "Only by restoring the democratic rights and upholding justice could it be possible to weed out abuses and achieve self-strengthening." Liang Qichao frequently lectured on democratic rights, especially during his lecture tenure at the Hunan Shiwu School where he "talked about nothing but the theory of democracy."

Thirdly, Kang Youwei transformed the teachings of Confucius to serve the cause of modernization and reform. He said Confucius was for equality and

democracy, and the Confucian theory that "all men are similar in natural disposition" stood for equality... So there is no distinction between a great man and a smaller man." He went on to say that when Confucius "referred to the people, he meant democracy. I know the Confucian concept of people means democracy." In his book "On Confucius as a Reformer," Kang Youwei described Confucius as a great teacher who inaugurated reforms in the name of antiquity. "Emperor Yao, Emperor Shun, and King Wen described in the Six Classics were Confucian legends for democracy and monarchy,... not necessarily the real Emperor Yao, Emperor Shun, and King Wen." Kang Youwei called for a constitutional monarchy to replace the absolute monarchy, and projected a utopian world of harmony and equality which he alleged was the Confucian master strategy as revealed in the "Spring and Autumn Annals." Kang Youwei's presentation, diametrically opposed to the conventional Confucian teachings which exalted the ancient ways and the imperial and patriarchal rules of human relations, was well received by the reformers and influenced the public profoundly. In reality, Kang and Liang were exploiting the cult of Confucius and Mencius as a vehicle to promote the capitalist form of democracy, even though they paid lip service to "Chinese fundamentals and Western applications." Other reformers, including Yan Fu, He Qi and Hu Lihuan, were either uninterested or opposed to "Chinese fundamentals and Western applications."

The fall of 1897 saw the neo-Westernizationists and reformers working together in running learned societies, schools and newspapers, and fighting for reforms. The former were anxious to win over Kang, Liang and their associates who were counting on the neo-Westernizationists to support their drive for reform. However, the contradictions between these two factions intensified as they could not agree on the question of democracy and the issue of Confucian reforms in the name of antiquity.

After the German occupation of the Bay of Jiaozhou in the winter of 1897, other powers also moved in. The national crises alarmed and infuriated the reformers, who had become disillusioned with the government where the literati and officialdom "were still indulging in wining and dining." Writing to Chen Baozhen on 14 December 1897, Liang Qichao said in his letter: "Alas! Today, there is no way other than reform to preserve the existence of the nation. Yet political reform would be more difficult to realize than to remove mountains and empty the seas if it were left to the distinguished gentlemen of the government. But we must not despair." Disappointment soon led them to radicalism. Before Liang Qichao left to lecture at the Hunan Shiwu School, he met with his comrades to map out their program of action. They came up with four options: "1) gradual approach; 2) radical approach; 3) concentrating on a constitutional government; and 4) full-scale reform, making the people aware of the problem, and working primarily for racial revolution. Liang Qichao preferred 2 and 4, with which Kang Youwei agreed after careful consideration.

On his way to Hunan, Liang Qichao traveled through Hubei where Zhang Zhidong "invited him for a long talk and found his views conducive to abuses." In the following spring, Zhang Zhidong wrote a book "On Exhortation of Learning" or "Quanxuepian" which turned cooperation to hostility between the neo-Westernizationists and the reformers.

(4) "Quanxuepian" is a pamphlet written from the viewpoint of the Westernizationists by Zhang Zhidong to provide a systematic exposition of the concept of "Chinese fundamentals and Western applications." It contains two sections: the internal section and the external section. The internal section was meant "to rectify public feeling," while the external section was supposed "to broaden the horizon."

"To rectify public feeling" was to oppose "those who express perverse, dangerous and unorthodox views to corrupt public feeling." That is to say, Zhang Zhidong was opposed to the capitalist reformers headed by Kang Youwei, especially their views on two particular issues: 1) Kang Youwei's theoretical justification of political reforms--the Gongyang Version of the Spring and Autumn Annals, and 2) the democratic theories of the reformers. According to Kang Youwei, "Zuochuan" (Zuo Qiuming's Version of the Spring and Autumn Annals), fabricated by Liu Xin, was not reliable; "Gongyang Chuan" (Gongyang Gao's Version of the Spring and Autumn Annals) was the true Confucian version. According to "Quanxuepian," however, the "Gongyang Chuan" was not reliable. It was the work of the classicists of the Qin and Han Dynasties and not that of the 70 Disciples. Zhang Zhidong said in "Quanxuepian" that Kang Youwei's dissertation on the works of Gongyang Gao was like a contraband drug which could kill people. As for democratic rights, Zhang Zhidong said: "Nowadays there are people who quote works of the West to assert the right of every individual to decide for himself. That is outrageous. They got that idea from the Western religious books which allege that God endows every individual with enough intelligence for him to get established. Unfortunately, the translation made it to mean that every person has the right to decide for himself. That is a gross mistake." That is to say, there are no such things as natural rights. The translator had made a mistake. Zhang Zhidong was of the opinion that if everyone were to decide for himself, it would lead to lawlessness, utter disorder throughout the realm, invasion by the Western powers, and finally the destruction of the Chinese nation. Consequently, "the theory of democratic rights is absolutely harmful" and "that is what our enemies would love to see us get into." (Quanxuepian)

As a defender of feudalism, Zhang Zhidong spelled out in "Quanxuepian" that "the basic fundamentals are the three bonds and four virtues, to love one's parents, to honor one's superiors, to respect one's elders, and to observe the segregation of the sexes. These are not subject to negotiations with the people for changes."

The external section of the book deals with reform measures. For economy, Zhang Zhidong was in favor of copying the Western method of production. To underscore the role of the government as a protector, Zhang Zhidong asked the merchants to rely honestly on the government instead of seeking power for themselves. Obviously he wanted to follow Li Hongzhang's line of government supervision of privately operated business. He was immensely interested in education. As laid down in "Quanxuepian," he favored the establishment of schools, sending students to study abroad, especially Japan, and translation of books. As a matter of fact, "Quanxuepian" contributed considerably to the development of modern education in China. It also spoke in favor of newspapers and even a consultative parliament "once there are more schools and

more educationally qualified people." The book covered a wide range of subjects concerning both Chinese and Western learning, parts of which are pretty close to the views of the intellectuals of the pre-1894 era. The focus of "Quanxuepian" is its internal section which singled out the capitalist reformers for attack, pointing out that the threat posed by the reform faction outweighed the imperialist aggressions. In its "Preface," Zhang Zhidong said: "I am afraid the misfortune of China lies within its borders rather than from abroad."

In July 1898, Huang Shaoqi, a Hanlin Academy scholar-in-waiting, presented "Quanxuepian" to Emperor Guangxu who approved of its exposition and commented: "It contains judicious and reasonable views which benefit the academic world and the general public." He ordered the Privy Council to provide copies to the provincial governors and directors of studies for extensive publication in order to reinstate the sagacious teachings and put an end to all unorthodox views." Since "Quanxuepian" represented the developing views on a majority of landlords and bureaucrats, it was reprinted by all the localities in 200 different editions. Thus, "Chinese learning for fundamentals and Western learning for applications" became a nationwide axiom of the day. Actually, it was patronized at that time only by the Westernizationists.

(5) Chinese learning and Western learning in reality represented diametrically opposed feudalist culture on the one hand and capitalist culture on the other. The fact that the two were blended together to form "Chinese fundamentals and Western applications" by the late 19th century Chinese reformers is not at all surprising. According to Engels: "Premature theories are for premature class relations. As long as solutions to social problems are hidden in underdeveloped economic relations, people have to resort to imagination and creativity." ("The Development of Socialism From Imagination to Science") The emergence of the concept of "Chinese fundamentals and Western applications" is indicative of an endangered feudalist Chinese society turned into a semi-colonial and semi-feudalist society. Since Chinese learning was unable to keep the feudalist Chinese society intact, the Chinese society had no need to keep the feudalist Chinese learning intact. Even though nobody questioned the fact that the Western countries were more powerful than China and that Western learning stood for prosperity and strength, the feudalist traditions still dominated all areas of the Chinese social life. Consequently, Western learning was not in a position to replace Chinese learning, and capitalism in China was still too weak to be recognized. As a result, these hybrid Siamese twins finally emerged to haunt the late 19th century Chinese society.

Of course each reform group had its own axe to grind. The Westernizationists, treating Western learning as a means to a particular end, did not want it to uproot the foundation of the Chinese feudalist society--the preservation of the small farm economy and the essentials of the superstructure. The "Chinese fundamentals" were the life line they shared with the Qing imperial regime. The fact that the intellectuals leaning toward capitalist reforms and the reformists both upheld the "fundamentals" of Chinese learning was that private capitalism which they represented was too weak to fall back on and that they themselves did not understand very well the true nature of Western institutions. Very few of them had read any authoritative Western books on politics,

economics and philosophy. They were affected by feudalism to such an extent that they were unable to differentiate patriotism, loyalty to the emperor and belief in Confucianism. They did not want to abandon the traditional Chinese institutions and moral values, nor did they believe that Western learning could ever outweigh Chinese learning. As a matter of strategy, they tried "to work out new interpretations" of the teachings of the ancient sages to shelter their efforts "to broaden the horizon" and "adopt new methods."

The "Chinese fundamentals and Western applications" pursued by the Westernizationists on the one hand and by the progressive intellectuals on the other had evolved, as expected, in two different directions because they represented different socio-economic foundations. The Westernizationists who represented the interests of the big bureaucrats and big landlords drifted toward bureaucratic compradore capitalism in the wake of imperialist aggression and popular awakening, though still clinging to "Chinese fundamentals and Western applications." Alarmed by the national crisis, the progressive intellectuals, encouraged by the growth of private capitalism, abandoned in substance if not in name the "Chinese fundamentals," because "Chinese fundamentals and Western applications" based on Chinese feudalist ideology was basically reactionary. In fact, Feng Guifeng, Zheng Guanying, let alone Kang Youwei, were primarily interested in promoting Western learning, using Chinese learning only as a ploy. For instance, they claimed that Western learning had originated in China and that Western science and technology and parliaments were "the legacies of the antiquities" of China. Therefore they proposed to restore the old ways of the Three Dynasties to bring back "the legacies of the antiquities" which had drifted to the West.

In the 19th century, the Westernizationists sprang to power for having put down a peasant uprising, but fell into oblivion by opposing the capitalist reformers. The bureaucratic abuses and corruption which crowded their new reform projects actually arrested the normal growth of capitalism. However, they had imported new production technology, brought up a batch of qualified people, and won back certain rights from the hands of foreign merchants. Their prestigious position had helped positively to broaden the horizon of the Chinese society. Before the publication of "Quanxuepian," the Westernizationists, who espoused "Chinese fundamentals and Western applications" and opposed the conservative diehards were able to cooperate up to the end of 1897 with the progressive intellectuals. The publication of "Quanxuepian" which exalted Chinese learning to attack the reform faction forced the capitalist reformers to abandon the "Chinese fundamentals and Western applications" to groom themselves for outright promotion of capitalist reforms. The "new reforms" in keeping with "Chinese fundamentals and Western applications" inaugurated by the Qing Government at the beginning of the 20th century were too late and too little to draw the attention of the Chinese capitalist revolutionaries.

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PARTY AND STATE

'CHINESE FUNDAMENTALS, WESTERN APPLICATIONS' DISCUSSED

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 2 Mar 82 p 3

[Article by Tao Ren [3447 0088]]

[Text] The "Chinese learning for fundamentals and Western learning for applications" was a popular Chinese slogan in the late 19th century. In his article on "The Development of the Concept of 'Chinese Learning for Fundamentals and Western Learning for Applications'" (FUDAN JOURNAL No 1, 1982), Tang Qizue says the slogan was not coined by Zhang Zhidong, but had evolved from casual beginnings to a systematized ideology.

As explained in the article, the Chinese learning and Western learning which represented two extremes, the Chinese feudalist culture on the one hand and the capitalist culture on the other, were arbitrarily brought together to form the "Chinese fundamentals and Western Applications" in the latter part of the 19th century by those Chinese who sought to reform China. The emergence of the slogan symbolized the gradual transformation of the endangered feudalist Chinese society into a semi-colonial and semi-feudalist society. To them, since the Western countries were more powerful than China, Western learning therefore represented prosperity and power. However, as the feudalist traditions then still dominated all areas of Chinese social life, the Western learning could not possibly replace the Chinese learning. The fact that capitalism was then too weak in China explains why these monstrous hybrid twins had come into being in the late 19th century Chinese society.

The article goes on to say that the Westernizationists took the Western learning as a serviceable tool which would not rock the foundation of the feudalist Chinese society--the small farm economy and the essentials of the superstructure. Having thrown in their lot with the Qing imperial regime, they valued the feudalist "Chinese fundamentals" as their life line. The intellectuals leaning toward capitalist reform and the capitalist reformers also valued the Chinese learning as "fundamental" because they did not have a strong national capitalism to fall back on and because they themselves knew so little about the nature of the Western learning that they could not shake off the deep-rooted influence of feudalism. Still emotionally attached to the Chinese traditional institutions and moral values, they did not believe Western learning could outstrip Chinese learning. But they were anxious

to find a rationale for acquiring the Western learning from the teachings of the ancient sages to help them "uncover new principles" to "turn the tide in favor of new methods" under the nose of stifling control. Representing two different socio-economic foundations, the Westernizationists and the progressive intellectuals reacted in their separate ways toward the "Chinese fundamentals and Western applications." The Westernizationists who represented the interests of top bureaucrats and landlords drifted toward bureaucratic compradorean capitalism in the wake of imperialist aggression and popular awakening, while still clinging to "Chinese fundamentals and Western applications." The progressive intellectuals, prompted by worsening national crises and the growth of national capitalism, gradually walked away from the substance but not the facade of the "Chinese fundamentals." In reality, Feng Guifeng, Zheng Guanying and Kang Youwei had been advocating Western learning rather than Chinese learning, which they kept merely to accentuate the former. These intellectuals wanted "to give priority to commerce," and "to wage commercial wars." Zheng Guanying and his friends were seeking protective tariff, lower import levies, and the removal of foreigners from the Chinese customs administration to eliminate favoritism." They also asked for the abolition of domestic shipping tax (likin) to facilitate the circulation of Chinese commodities, and the establishment of a ministry of commerce to protect Chinese merchants and do away with the policy which "plagues commerce."

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PARTY AND STATE

FOUR PRINCIPLES, DRAFT CONSTITUTION DISCUSSED

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 19 May 82 p 3

[Article by Ji Qun [4764 5028] and Song Mengrong [1345 5492 2837]: "Strictly Observe the Four Basic Principles: On a Basic Spirit of the Draft Constitution"]

[Text] The "Revised Draft of the Constitution of the People's Republic of China" has been made public and handed over to the peoples of the country for discussion. This is an important event in our nation's political life. The outstanding feature of this draft revision is that it affirms that it is necessary to uphold the four basic principles, i.e., that it is necessary to uphold socialism, the dictatorship of the proletariat, Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, and the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party. In its Preamble, the revised draft of the constitution says: The victory of the new democratic socialist revolution of China and the victory of socialism have both been won under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought; in future, "under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, the Chinese people will continue to uphold the people's democratic dictatorship and the socialist path." The spirit of the four basic principles runs through the entire draft constitution.

The revised draft of the constitution fully affirms the four basic principles and makes them the highest standard for people and the fundamental principle for guiding all areas of China's social life. This has very important and profound significance for our building a strong socialist nation with a high degree of material and spiritual culture. This is a summary of the basic experience of China's recent history, as well as a summary of the basic experience of the Chinese people's socialist revolution and construction over the past 30 years and more, the historical choice of the bloody struggle of the Chinese people and a truth observed through experience. It reflects the basic interests and collective demands of all the country's people and reflects the law of our historical development.

The most important thing in upholding the four basic principles is upholding the leadership of the party and socialism. Comrade Deng Xiaoping has repeatedly emphasized the centrality of the four upholds to upholding party leadership. The party's leadership of socialism is something which took shape during the

history of struggle in the 1960's: the party cannot do without the people and the people cannot do without the party. This is something which nothing can change. Guided by the "Resolution" of the Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, the draft constitution summarizes the experience and lessons of our party as a political party since the founding of the PRC and the leadership position and role of the party in the life of the nation, makes scientific provisions which fully embody the great successes we have won in upholding and improving party leadership since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee.

The most fundamental thing in the party's leadership is to rely on the correctness of the party's ideological and political leadership and the correctness of the party's line, principles and policies; and to rely on organizing and supporting the people as masters of the state to build a new socialist life. The party's leadership must uphold the principle of the collective leadership of the party committee and forbid any form of personality cult. Based on just this understanding, the draft constitution thoroughly eliminates wording which promotes personality cult. But party leadership cannot run everything. When discussing the relationship between party and state organs, Lenin said: "The party's mission is to carry out leadership of the work of all state organs, and is not the present excessively, abnormal, and frequently particularistic interference." (Lenin's Complete Works, Vol 33, p 211) In the past, for such reasons as our insufficient experience and the weaknesses of excessive concentration of authority and no definition of scope of responsibility in the present systems of party and state, the development of the superiority of the socialist system has been hindered. In addition to affirming the party's general leadership of national life in the "Preamble", the draft constitution generally abandons the specific articles and clauses regarding the emphasis on party leadership in past constitutions, and embodies the positive results of strengthening party leadership and improving the party leadership system since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee.

Upholding party leadership and strengthening the socialist legal system go hand in hand. The draft constitution records the achievements of the CCP's leadership of the Chinese people's long struggle. The party leads the people to formulate a constitution and laws, and the party also leads the people to observe the constitution and the laws. In China, the constitution and the laws are the unity of the party's ideas and the people's will. In view of the wanton destruction of the socialist legal system by the counter-revolutionary clique of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing, regarding the open trampling of the constitution, the draft constitution clearly stipulates that the constitution "has the force of the highest law," all government and party organizations and social organizations "must make the constitution the basic norm of activity and have the responsibility to uphold the observance of the constitution and guarantee the implementation of the constitution," "no organization or individual has special rights which supersede the constitution and the laws." This means that the leadership and activity of the CCP in the life of the nation also falls within the scope of the constitution and the laws.

Upholding the leadership of the party does not mean that the party cannot make mistakes. The party's leadership is formed in practice and does not exist in some mystic concept of "wisdom." No organization or person in the world can think that he cannot commit the slightest error, so how much less so in leading such a large country as China in such an unprecedentedly enormous socialist enterprise! Historically, our party has committed this or that kind of error more than once, but it was our party itself and not someone else who corrected it. The draft constitution was written by seeking truth from facts and the party's leadership of the Chinese people won victory in the process of upholding truth and correcting mistakes. The CCP is a party which thinks that looking after the interests of the majority of the people of China is its highest aim, and in the future, in socialist practice, it will certainly constantly improve its own leadership and strengthen its own fighting strength.

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MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

HISTORY, DEVELOPMENT OF PLA NAVY DESCRIBED

Beijing HAI YANG [OCEANS] in Chinese No 5, 1982 pp 1-2

[Article by Lu Qiming [7120 0366 2494]: "A Brand-New Battle Array--A Visit to the People's Navy"]

[Text] My visit began with observing at sea a live landing operation exercise.

Early one morning I boarded a guided missile destroyer, which then sailed out to the surging deep sea. I used this interval while we were crossing the sea to ask the destroyer commander to let me look around this new-type warship. Reflected by the rising sun, the silver grey guided missile destroyer glistened with dazzling white rays. It was like a pagoda towering above the sea surface. This ship well deserves its reputation as a "seaborne scientific city." It is fitted out with a lot of advanced equipment and instruments. Its "ears" are able to hear the electric waves from satellites in the upper sky and the sounds of submarines in the deep sea; its "eyes" are able to spy out and seize upon moving targets in the air, on the sea, and under the sea; its main engine can propel the warship through the waves of a stormy sea; the amount of electricity put out by its auxiliary engine could supply the electricity used by a medium-sized city; its radar and control instruments provide all the firing data for aiming its various type of guns; and with a light push on a button, an enormously powerful guided missile will rise from its launching pad and fly toward its target. This destroyer reflects in a concentrated way one aspect of our country's modernization drive.

The guided missile destroyer swiftly arrived at its designated sea area. Other ships of the composite sea formation also took up their own positions on schedule. The exercise then began. The posture of the "enemy" and us at this time was: the "enemy" had invaded and occupied a certain island of ours, and a force of our marines, under the protection of our ships, had bravely landed on a beachhead and launched a counterattack against the enemy. At this critical juncture, an "enemy" sea reinforcement formation, tried to reinforce by sea the "enemy" troops who had landed and to wipe out our marines on the beachhead, in order to consolidate the "enemy's" position on the island. The mission of our composite sea formation was: to destroy the "enemy's" sea reinforcement formation and to coordinate with the marines in recapturing the island. The commander of the composite sea formation ordered

the formation to rapidly approach the reinforcement formation. When our formation had approached to the best distance for attack, the commander again checked the "enemy's" position with the radarmen, after which he issued his first order: "Targets--the 'enemy's' formation's control vessel and air arm--attack!" In an instant there came a rumble in the sky as a group of torpedo planes, covered by fighter planes, headed straight toward the "enemy" formation. Just as the group of torpedo planes returned to base, a formation of torpedo boats, churning up high waves, suddenly appeared in front of the "enemy." Following closely on this, in obedience to the order given by the commander of our formation, guided missiles were launched from destroyers, frigates and fast attack craft, from different angles and distances, and the missiles flew in unison toward the "enemy" formation. Immediately on the sea and in the air there was a sound like rolling thunder, the rumble lingering in the ear. After several minutes, the formation staff officer went up to its commander: "Reporting to commanding officer: The control vessel of the enemy's sea reinforcement formation has been hit and his formation has fled in disorder. Our marines are now pursuing and wiping out the 'enemy' remnants on the island." Just as the formation staff officer completed his report, the confidential staff officer also delivered a report to headquarters: "Our submarines have sunk an 'enemy' warship!"

The exercise ended. On the control platform I had a chat with the commander of the composite sea formation. The commander's gaze swept the brand-new battle array, but first he talked about the First Opium War of 1840. He said: "At that time, the worthy sons and daughters of our Chinese nation could only resist the imperialist power's seaborne invasion with broadswords, spears, homemade rifles, and homemade cannons. Today, we have the People's Navy, equipped with guided missiles, rockets, and electronic technology, to defend the motherland's sea border. This is a great change!" "If, in the future, imperialism again invades our country by sea," the commander waved his large hand in the air and said with determination, "imagine what their fate will be!"

This commanding officer of the composite sea formation recalled with excitement the circumstances in the period when the People's Navy was first being built up. In the early 1950's, he was transferred from the army to the navy. In the army he had been an expert in the use of the bayonet and was once awarded the honorable title of "combat model." In the navy, he commanded many sea battles. At that time, all the formations he led were composed of "grandfather" warships. As a matter of fact, not only were the warships he led of this type but so were all the vessels of the People's Navy during the initial stage of building up the navy. There were at that time four sources of ships: 1) ships captured from the Kuomintang Navy during the River-Crossing Campaign; 2) ships obtained when personnel of the Kuomintang Navy mutinied; 3) ships allocated to the navy by transfer from local sea transportation bureaus; and 4) ships bought from Hong Kong. The characteristics of the ships and their equipment were: 1) old--the majority of the ships had been built before World War II; 2) dilapidated--all of the ships "lacked an arm or a leg"; 3) complicated--the ships had been built in about a dozen different countries; and 4) small--most of them were small boats or small ships of several tons or several hundreds of tons. On this kind of structure, we built the People's Navy. "But now," the commander said excitedly, "The past cannot be compared to the present!"

The real facts are this. In the past several years, each fleet of the navy has staged a defensive exercise like this one, and some of the exercises have been on a bigger scale than this one. However, every exercise has only reflected a small aspect in the buildup of the Navy. What is the complete picture of the People's Navy? With this question in mind, I visited some units and was greatly encouraged by what I saw and heard.

Some of the comrades who briefed me said that the navy has already been built up on a considerable scale. The navy is a branch of the armed forces composed of many service arms. In the air, there is the naval air arm composed of various types of aircraft; on the surface of the sea, there are various types of surface vessels; under the sea there are various types of submarines; on the coast there are guided missile units and large artillery pieces of various calibers; and there are also the naval marines, skillful in attack and defense, as well as various specialized units. With regard to vessels, we have combat vessels such as destroyers, frigates, submarines, minesweepers, minelayers, landing ships, landing boats, guided missile craft, submarine chasers, and corvettes. There are also auxiliary vessels such as supply ships, repair ships, salvage ships, tugboats, cold storage ships, icebreakers, survey ships, degaussing vessels, and rescue and lifesaving vessels. Besides bombers, attack planes, and fighter planes, the naval arm has some special aircraft suited for the sea, such as torpedo planes, antisubmarine planes, sea reconnaissance planes, ambulance planes, etc. Because the navy is a branch of the armed forces that is composed of various service arms, it can both coordinate military operations with the army and the air force and also conduct independent operations under the sea, on the sea, and in the air.

These comrades said that in the past the navy's combat vessels were mainly armed with cannons, but now the navy has guided missile destroyers, guided missile frigates, guided missile fast attack craft, as well as coastal guided missile units. There are many kinds of guided missiles, like shore-to-ship, ship-to-ship, ship-to-air, air-to-ship, air-to-air, etc. This indicates that the striking force of the People's Navy is swift and strong. The navy's equipment is also constantly being modernized and developed. For example, in the past the communications equipment could only insure offshore communications, but now there has been set up a communications network of many long and short wave bands that can insure unimpeded communications for a distance of over 10,000 li. For sea navigation equipment, the compass and sextant have developed into equipment for many ways of navigating such as by satellite. Furthermore, in the past the Navy's supply ships could only operate offshore, but now ocean-going supply ships, ocean-going salvage ships, and ocean-going tugboats have been built. They have given wings to the combat vessels and can support the combat vessels in carrying out missions in the deep sea and ocean.

"The development of the navy's equipment is comparatively fast." Briefing me, these comrades said: "One important reason for this is that we have persisted in taking the path of acting independently with the initiative in our own hands and of relying on ourselves." History proves that this is the correct path for building a powerful navy. Because the People's Navy is taking this path, it will be able to smash all sorts of aggressive and

destructive activities by imperialism and also advance amid struggle. Of course, in taking the path of independent action and initiative and of self-reliance, we will encounter all sorts and kinds of difficulties. However, it only takes a hard and bitter struggle to overcome big difficulties. In 1951, Shanghai's Jiangnan Shipyard built our country's first 50-ton gunboat. Owing to a design fault, it capsized when launched. Everybody summed up the lessons of this unfortunate incident and again opened up a battlefield on the banks of the Huangpu River. In the end they created our country's first generation of gunboats. Following this, submarine chasers, fast attack craft, and submarines. In the late 1950's, the People's Navy was equipped with first batch of Chinese-built new-type vessels. Now, in the early stage of the buildup of the People's Navy, the old, dilapidated, complicated, and small vessels have for a long time fallen into disuse and have been replaced by equipment made by our country itself. The People's Navy depends on this equipment to time and again deliver blows to invading enemies, protecting our 10,000-li sea border; depends on this equipment to fulfill the various missions handed down by the party Central Committee and its Military Commission, such as protecting fishing and escorting ships, patrolling and alerting, dealing with emergencies and saving lives, carrying out combined arms training, and conducting scientific experiments. The first Chinese-built guided missile destroyer has sailed safely for over a dozen years, ranging over several tens of thousands of nautical miles; guided missile destroyers of its class have participated in long voyages on the Pacific Ocean, standing up to the test of strong winds and big waves. The comrades, full of confidence, said: "Our country's national economy has already been developed to a considerable extent, and there will be a navy with even newer types of vessels and equipment. If only we, with one heart and one mind, summon up our spirits and work in a down-to-earth fashion, there is great hope that a powerful navy will be built."

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

WORK IN LITERATURE, ART THEORETICAL TRAINING CLASSES URGED

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 9 May 82 p 1

[Article: "Zhou Yang Suggests Focusing on Literature and Art Theoretical Training Classes for Cadres and Establishing Ranks of Writers and Artists"]

[Text] Zhou Yang, advisor to the Propaganda Department of the CCP Central Committee, pointed out in his talk to the literature and art theoretical training class at the Department of Culture: We must concentrate on the theoretical studies of literary and art cadres. This is of great significance to the establishment of ranks of writers and artists. We must truly master the essence of Comrade Mao Zedong's works on literature and art. In order to master them, we must integrate real life, which is extremely varied and complex. If we fail to do so and fail to study new questions and new conditions then there will be no new creations or developments.

The Department of Culture's training class on literary and art theory lasted one and a half months and concluded on 6 May. The training class integrated the practices of the literary and art sphere. They primarily studied Comrade Mao Zedong's "Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art." At the same time they studied relevant expositions by Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Comrade Mao Zedong as well as the major relevant talks given by the leadership of the Party Central Committee in recent years concerning work in the literary and art sphere.

On the morning of 5 May, Zhou Yang joined the training class and held a discussion with the students. Zhou Yang said in reference to the "Talks" that in the past we mainly did propaganda work and provided explanations. We related past and present conditions. We did very little work in genuine and penetrating research. One could say that academic works of scientific value are even rarer. Some explanation is an essential part of work done by the Propaganda Department, and we must continue to do such work. This is because Marxism itself is a science that is continuously developing. If we want to master it we must uphold and apply concepts of development. By development we don't mean developing according to one's own subjective wishes and doing as one wishes. Rather, we are referring to following the path of objective development of reality and history. Creativity and development should follow the laws of the development of the history of art itself. Zhou Weizhi [0719 1550 1492], vice minister of the Department of Culture, Lin Mohan [2651 7817 3211] and Chen Huangmei [7115 5435 3561], advisors to the Department of Culture, all presented reports to the literature and art theoretical training class on special topics.

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

IMPORTANCE OF ACCURATE CENSUS REGISTRATION STRESSED

Beijing RENKOU YANJIU [POPULATION RESEARCH] in Chinese No 3, 29 May 82 pp 6-7

[Article by Cai Wenmei [5591 2429 4168], State Council Population Census Office: "Registration and Rechecking of Population Census"]

[Text] The whole process of the third national population census from preparation, registration, manual collection, coding, recording, computer application to publication of the census report will take about 4 or 5 years. Registration and rechecking are only a link in the whole chain, generally taking about 1 month. Through about 2 weeks of registration and 2 weeks of rechecking, the original records registered in the census forms will become the basis for studying the population data and the foundation for further analysis.

How then can we acquire accurate demographic data? At present, the whole party and people of the whole country are striving with one heart for achieving the four modernizations and for continuously raising people's material and cultural levels. The national population census is the first large-scale social survey and research work led by the party to determine the condition and strength of our country. Given the identical fundamental interests of the state and the people, the census will have the enthusiastic support and cooperation of the people, who will report truthfully, which is precisely a strong point beyond the reach of many countries. At the same time, we will proceed with all-round and strict rechecking so as to ensure the quality of registration.

The accuracy of registration rests on three main links:

1. Correct demarcation of census-taking areas;
2. Scientific method of registration;
3. Strict rechecking system.

These are related below: First, whether repetition and omission can be prevented in registration will depend, to a considerable degree, on whether the census-taking areas are properly demarcated. At present, world countries generally adopt cartography to make geographical area maps of the census-taking

areas at the most basic level, and then find out along the optimum lines the housing units in each census-taking area. In popular language, it means "making maps, pinpointing housing units, checking permanent residences, asking questions about the census items." In recent years, several European and American countries have come up with earth coding to determine the positions of census-taking areas, that is, taking longitude and latitude as coordinates, drawing large squares of equivalent area on accurate maps, dividing a large square into several small squares, determining the position by cutting apart, determining the area by positioning the squares, linking the longitude of the square to the code of latitude, thereby determining the position of the area in question. Its merit is that whatever changes occur on the earth surface, the codes of census-taking areas will never change. However, this method requires high technical conditions and entails heavy outlays at the present stage, so it remains to be studied further. The third method is to determine census-taking areas according to division of large and small administrative areas. It is the method we adopt to divide provinces (municipalities and autonomous regions), counties, communes, production brigades or neighborhood committees, production teams, and residents' groups into census-taking areas. Although no maps have been made, the geographical demarcation lines of their census-taking areas are perfectly clear to the census-taking organizations. Cadres of these organizations have images of census-taking areas in their minds and have housing, people and even births, deaths, moving-in, moving-away at their fingertips. To be sure, as time moves on and urban and rural areas develop, population census will be integrated with housing survey. Considering this tendency, we shall be able to make census-taking maps in combination with the making of maps of urban (rural) construction.

Second, concrete conditions vary with different countries and zones in the world, and the traditional survey and statistical methods are not the same. It is entirely possible to determine our method of census registration according to our traditional and practical experience. In general, the method of direct visit is often used in the case of a population that includes more illiterates. That is, census workers will make visits house-by-house and person-by-person, conduct surveys item-by-item, and fill in the results in the census forms. This method requires large numbers of census workers who have trained hard and strictly, and entails huge outlays. In the case of a population whose cultural level is fairly high, the method of self-filling is adopted, that is, census workers will deliver registration forms to each household, whose head will be responsible for filling in the forms, and will collect the forms at an appointed time. Upon discovery of errors when checking, they will be corrected on the spot. Since 1970, the United States has tried the method of delivering and collecting registration forms by post: the census organs mail registration forms to various households according to the latest directory of household heads' addresses, and the responsible persons of the households will mail the forms back through the post office after filling them out. The advantage of the self-filling method is that those who are to fill in the forms will have ample time to consider how to answer the questions and that only a small number of census workers are required and outlays can be greatly saved. Since the census items are becoming more and more complex in many countries, the self-filling method often cannot ensure quality of filling out, and some East European countries are still in favor of the method of direct visit.

In our country, registration at the census registration stations is the main form, supplemented with direct visit to households. Under the premise of suiting the convenience of the masses, our country will set up registration stations among the masses. For example, registration stations are set up in courtyards, on one floor of a building and at centers where inhabitants of several households live in compact communities. Mobil registration stations may be set up in factory shops, on edges of fields and field borders, among boat brigades, and on docks. This method will suit the convenience of the masses, save time, and make it easy for census workers to make arrangements and control progress of registration. As for the aged, weak, sick and disabled, who cannot move about easily, census workers will visit them at their homes.

From the above methods of census registration it will be seen that all countries in the world are taking the approach with the masses remaining passive and the census workers making the move, while in our country we take the approach with both the masses and the census workers making the move in registration. Inasmuch as both sides are on the move, will there be more repetitions and omissions in registration? In 1981, 88 experiments were carried out in 28 provinces and municipalities when more than 60,000 census workers combined station registration with direct visit to households among a population of 3.43 million, and the results were fairly good in terms of registration quality. In our organized society, good coordination of movement between census workers and the masses can ensure accuracy of registration.

Third, close-knit rechecking system. The original data registered by the census workers may have errors, making it necessary to recheck so that errors can be corrected at the basic level. Three forms may be adopted: self-rechecking, mutual rechecking, and mass rechecking through discussion.

The "rules of manual logical checking" drawn up for census workers to carry out self-rechecking and mutual rechecking are practical weapons for helping census workers discover errors. The keypoints of rechecking are:

1. Accuracy of registration. Are the number of households and number of persons registered correctly? Are there repetitions and omissions? Are the data in accord with realities? It is demanded that the total number of households, the total number of persons, and the item on sexual distinction are free of errors.
2. Completeness of registration. Are there any items that are not marked with a circle, not filled in, are re-marked with a circle and refilled?
3. Rationality of registration. Is the relationship logical between the persons registered in the census forms and the relationship between various items? Upon discovery of contradictions, the data should be rechecked, while special situations should be noted in the "remark" column.

Some time should be set aside each day by census workers to carry out self-checking. The forms filled the same day are still fresh in their minds, and it is easy for them to think back and discover problems. "Fulfill three-day

tasks in one day"--such a frame of mind marked by impatience must be guarded against. It is often the very cause of doing the same work over again.

Mutual rechecking means rechecking of special items by census workers under the leadership of a census supervisor after the census workers have concluded self-rechecking. For example:

1. Number of households, number of persons, sexual distinction, relation with household head, state of housing;
2. Occupation, profession, state of unemployed persons.
3. Marital status of females over 15 years of age, number of children and number of their living children, their birth state in 1981.
4. Nationality, age, cultural standard. Knotty problems among the items on the number of households and number of persons may also be rechecked through mass deliberation and checking, and studied and resolved with the cooperation of residents' groups and those in production teams who are familiar with conditions.

Rechecking was always given importance during the first census and the second census. Moreover, the scope of rechecking was fairly broad. As a result, the percentage of errors was comparatively low and the census data finally provided were fairly accurate.

To sum up, as long as we bring our strong point into full play and guard the pass, our census registration and rechecking can definitely provide data of high quality and lay a reliable foundation for follow-up working procedures.

9780

CSO: 4005/926

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

WORKERS FROM OUTSIDE GUANGZHOU MUST REGISTER FOR TEMPORARY RESIDENCE

Guangzhou GUANGZHOU RIBAO in Chinese 11 Apr 82 p 1

[Article: "Workers Engaged in Public Projects, Temporary Workers and Migratory Workers Who Come From Outside Guangzhou Must Register for Temporary Residence Certificates"]

[Text] The "Notice on Verifying and Issuing Temporary Resident Certificates for Workers Engaged in Public Projects, Temporary Workers and Migratory Workers From Outside Guangzhou" which was issued by the Public Safety Bureau and approved by the Guangzhou Municipal People's Government, goes into effect on 15 April, and violators will be punished.

The "Notice" stipulates the following to persons who come to Guangzhou from other places: Workers on public projects (including from suburban counties to the city and from the city to suburban counties) who come from outside Guangzhou to work on capital construction, supply and marketing personnel from outside Guangzhou who live here for long periods in hotels or residences, personnel engaged in sideline production, temporary workers and migratory workers in the hire of mines, enterprises, schools, organs, units and individual households, and personnel from outside of Guangzhou who work for firms with offices in Guangzhou, work groups, liaison offices and all subordinate agencies, within 3 days of arrival should bring evidence of labor section, hiring unit, original unit or district and apply for a temporary residence certificate either individually or by unit, from the police station in their residential area (or brigade public security committee in rural areas).

The "Notice" also stipulates that workers on public projects, temporary workers hired without the approval of the labor section, personnel engaged in sideline production which affects the city's appearance, public order, communications and public health management and personnel who have left their production posts and been illegally hired by a grassroots level unit or household, will not be issued temporary residence permits and should quickly return to their original area.

The "Notice" stresses in particular, that all those who do not apply for, falsely apply for or apply under another's name, and those household heads and responsible persons of units who do not carry out the stipulations of this notice to supervise and urge persons who are living here temporarily to apply for residency will be punished in accordance with "Regulations on Punishment of the People's Republic of China" and the regulations on residency registration.

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

FIRST OPEN UNIVERSITY ESTABLISHED IN BEIJING

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 29 Apr 82 p 1

[Article: "Collectively-Owned, People-Operated University, China Society University Established in Beijing"]

[Text] China's first new-type socialist open university--China Society University--was formally established in Beijing recently with the approval of relevant government departments.

This is a people-operated, collectively-owned university sponsored by the All-China Scientific Socialism Society (Planning Committee) and the Beijing Scientific Socialism Society. At present, the school has 15 departments all together, including literature, physics, engineering, medicine and art. Each department has three sections: a work-study section, a correspondence section and a scientific research section. The work-study length of schooling is 2 to 4 years, and now has 30 fields. There is a day school. Students enrolled are mainly unemployed young people who are upper middle school graduates or equivalent, and are chosen by examination. After the students matriculate, they participate in work and study. After completing the period of study, those who qualify through examination are given a certificate of graduation and are recommended to appropriate departments by the school, but are not assigned employment. After branch campuses are established in the provinces in the future the recruitment scale will become national.

The correspondence section recruits students from throughout the country. Matriculating students do not have to take entrance examinations, and there are no restrictions on educational background, age, sex or occupation, as long as the student can remit a small fee he can become a student at the school. The school is responsible for supplying instructional materials, and uses periodicals, videotape and tape recorders for lectures and coaching and to answer difficult questions. The students participate in local self-study examinations, and those whose achievements meet the qualifications are awarded diplomas, but they are not assigned employment.

The school's art department's work study speciality will begin accepting students immediately, and the other specialties in the section and the correspondence section will admit students in other fields this fall.

8226

CSO: 4005/902

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

SEVERAL ACADEMIC INSTITUTIONS ADDED, ABOLISHED, MERGED

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 9 May 82 p 1

[Article: "Approval Given by State Council To Add, Abolish and Merge a Number of Institutions of Higher Learning."]

[Text] Recently the State Council approved of adding, abolishing and merging a number of institutions of higher learning.

The five institutions of higher learning to be added are: Nanjing College of Physical Education, Ji'an Normal Technical School, Fuzhou Normal Technical School, Foshan Technical School and Jiaying Normal Technical School. These five institutions have been set up in Nanjing, Jiangsu; Ji'an, Jiangxi; Foshan, Guangdong; and Jiaying, Guangdong respectively. They are under the control of the three provinces of Jiangsu, Jiangxi and Guangdong. The program at Nanjing College of Physical Education takes 4 years, and two special courses of study are offered in physical training and sports. The programs at the other four schools take 3 years, with special courses in Chinese literature, language, mathematics, physics, chemistry and physical training.

The institutions of higher learning to be abolished or merged are as follows. The three institutions of Guangxi Light Industrial College, Guangxi Mechanical College and Guangxi Petrochemical College are to be merged to form Guangxi Industrial College. Also to be merged are Nei Menggu Nationalities Normal College and Tongliao Normal College. The institution will retain the name of Nei Menggu Nationalities Normal College. The Nei Menggu Nationalities Medical College will merge with the Zhelimu Medical College and retain the name of Nei Menggu Nationalities Medical College. The Jilin College of Agricultural Machinery will be abolished, and the original Jilin Provincial School of Agricultural Machinery, Guangxi Industrial College, Nei Menggu Nationalities Normal College and Nei Menggu Nationalities Medical College will be controlled by the Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region and the Nei Menggu Autonomous Region. The length of study will be 4 or 5 years.

The Department of Education has already issued a notice concerning the addition, abolition and merging of the above mentioned institutions of higher learning. The notice calls on the provinces and autonomous regions concerned to strengthen their leadership. As regards the addition of institutions of higher learning, they must further improve their management of schools and gradually upgrade the quality of education. They must conscientiously do a good job in ideological instruction and in organizational work for personnel in units that have been abolished or merged.

BAI HUA SAID TO BE DISPIRITED AFTER MAKING SELF-CRITICISM

Hong Kong CHENG MING [CONTENDING] in Chinese No 5, 1982 pp 33-34

[Article by Fang Hsing [2455 6821]: "Bai Hua After His Self-Criticism"]

[Text] One day when I opened Shanghai's WEN HUI BAO of 1 April, the following passage from a narrative poem entitled "Clouds of Yunnan" (free prose style) written by Bai Hua in Yunnan in February 1982, and published in the newspaper's "Literature" section, drew my attention:

In your eyes, how ashamed I appear;
In my eyes, how strong and dynamic you all appear;
I was once proud of myself, being a man optimistic
and strong;
But now, in contrast to you, how dispirited I am.

From this passage one can see that Bai Hua, contrary to what was reported in local newspapers, was not in a cheerful mood. Is there any secret in this respect? This secret will remain a secret until we go over both this poem and his "newsletter to the editorial departments of JIEFANGJUN BAO and WENYI BAO," a self-criticism published in issue No 1, 1982, of WENYI BAO. Let us look at his self-criticism in that newsletter: First, he regards his "Unrequited Love" as a fundamental mistake because it prominently reflected an erroneous trend of thought advanced by some people who are trying to break away from the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and the socialist road. Second, because "Unrequited Love" fails to draw a clear-cut line between the "gang of four" on the one hand and the socialist motherland, the party and the people on the other, ultimately it transforms the unrequited love of intellectuals for their homeland into personal grievances against it. This has led the people to conclude that both the Communist Party and socialism are no good. As a matter of fact, during the 10 years of catastrophe, the party did love and care for the intellectuals. Such love is a source of strength for them to carry on tenacious struggle with firm confidence. Third, using the personality cult as a metaphor, his work has mistakenly pinpointed encouraging people to worship Mao Zedong as the root cause of trouble during the 10 years of turmoil. This conclusion is tantamount to ridiculing Mao Zedong or to simply negating his personality. Doing so

obviously has a dampening effect on the enthusiasm of the "broad masses of people for showing their profound affection for their revolutionary leader." Meanwhile, it is unfair to point the finger of blame for the growth of the personality cult at uneducated people. Fourth, the entire process of criticizing "Unrequited Love" symbolizes the Chinese communists' willingness to "put the practice of criticism and self-criticism in literature and art on the right track." Such criticism is not an attack on, but an expression of wholehearted support for him to continue to make progress. For this reason, he should express his gratitude to the editorial departments of JIEFANGJUN BAO and WENYI BAO, and pledge to them that in the future he will keep in close touch with life, uphold the four basic principles and produce works eulogizing the bright side of society.

This statement by Bai Hua is certainly incompatible with what he really wants to say from the bottom of his heart. I can disprove it point by point as follows: First, among the works recently targeted for criticism are "Unrequited Love," "A Specter Haunts the Chinese Land," "General, You'd Better Wash Up," and "On the Enlightened Administration of Literature and Art." The authors are all Communist Party members who have spent a long time educating themselves in Marxism-Leninism. For that reason, they naturally consider the socialist system the world's best system. More than anyone else, they hope that the Communist Party will continue to dominate China for countless generations to come. Their aim in exposing the dark side of Communist China and its socialist system is nothing but an expression of the hope that their efforts will sweep away the dark clouds. For their failure to "speak out on issues," sometimes they pound the table vehemently and jump up from their chairs. What Bai Hua has said is out of tune with the reality of literature and art and the current literary and artistic trend in Communist China. Second, it is clear that "Unrequited Love" is a work aimed at denouncing the rule by the "gang of four" rather than the motherland where the author was born and brought up (this point can be proved by the fact that in the story Ling Chengguang, after his return from abroad, never thought of leaving his homeland again). It is true that during their heyday of power, the "gang of four" turned the Communist Party into a fascist party responsible for murdering thousands upon thousands of outstanding Chinese sons and daughters (a rerun of the list of names of dead writers announced by the Fourth "Cultural Congress" held in 1979 proves this point). Describing it as a party caring for writers at that time is really incredible. I can imagine that Bai Hua blushed when he produced that poem. It is also fair to say that the personality cult was an unhealthy practice which led the nation to produce fools such as those described in "Unrequited Love." Third, did Bai Hua really think that his "Unrequited Love" dampened the "enthusiasm of the broad masses for showing profound affection for their revolutionary leader?" To adapt their statements to the political needs, the Chinese communist politicians can still defend Mao Zedong as someone they call the "greatest national hero" whose "contributions to the nation are primary and whose shortcomings are secondary." Despite that, the people will never harbor any profound affection for Mao Zedong. Can anyone forget the untold sufferings and misery he brought to the Chinese people since 1957? A reading of the poem by Sun Jingxuan [1327 7234 6513] entitled "A Specter Haunts the Chinese Land" and of another poem by Ye Wenfu [5509 2429 4395], which says:

"Prayer has been said several times from the bottom of my heart. But it still cannot make you remain in this world. You have spent too much time in the air. You should come down to kiss the earth" will lead us to believe that people really want that "esteemed God" to come to kiss the earth as soon as possible. A poet should be a barometer of national sentiment. The sentiment of this kind as described in the "Unrequited Love" is decent and, therefore, should not be subjected to any criticism; fourth, the criticism of the "Unrequited Love" was a well-orchestrated attack in every sense, and was conducted in a way that seemed unfair to the author. The commentator's article carried by JIEFANGJUN BAO on 20 April was clearly a repeat of the cruel struggle in which the accused were stamped with various political labels. It was so outrageous that even Zhang Guangnian [1728 0342 1628] and Zhou Yang [0719 2254] could not agree. This is why they decided to present the prize for the best modern poem to Bai Hua for his poem "Spring Tide Is in View" as an indication of their opposition to the harsh criticism by the JIEFANGJUN BAO commentator, when the national conference for presentation of prizes for the best medium-length novel, best reportage, and the best modern poem was held in Beijing on 25 May. Waves of agitation against this approach have also swept the institutions of higher learning throughout the country. At that time, Bai Hua was deluged with letters of support. In reply, he wrote and published the work "I Am Overwhelmed by the Love of Spring" and other similar articles expressing his boundless appreciation of the support he received. But now, contrary to that expression, he has turned around to thank the JIEFANGJUN BAO commentator. Does this sound embarrass his former supporters? Does this mean that they supported the wrong man?

So far, the Chinese communist leaders have singled out for criticism four writers, namely, Bai Hua, Sun Jingxuan, Ye Wenfu and Wang Ruowang [3769 5387 2598]. In the course of criticizing themselves, Bai Hua's remarks seemed more impressive than Sun Jingxuan's. Up to now, the other two writers have not published articles criticizing themselves. It has been reported that they decided not to criticize themselves on the grounds that they had done nothing wrong. In the present political situation, this spirit of resistance to the call for self-criticism represents a daring and indomitable spirit to uphold principles and, therefore, deserves support from people who cherish justice as well as love the spring. After undergoing self-criticism, Bai Hua could be expected to receive letters of reproach from many of his former "admirers." Upon seeing such letters, Bai Hua could not just brush them aside without a guilty conscience. Rather, he would feel sorry and remorseful. Then the time came for him to revisit Yunnan, a place to which he bade farewell over 20 years ago (a place which also survived the 10 years of traumatic turmoil). While there, he still watched the same scenes of over 20 years ago in which "azaleas still appear like flames, blazing in cold rain; snow-white flowers on pear trees still wave in the gentle breeze." When he linked such scenes to his present state of mind and behavior, he had no choice but to produce the poem that appeared at the head of this article.

In that four-stanza poem, the poet immersed himself in a sense of remorse when he watched the flowers grow sturdily. He was a poet who suffered nearly 20 years of torture (after he was condemned as a rightist element in 1957).

Despite this torture, he continued to produce works with a cheerful spirit, which proved instrumental in removing obstacles to the modernization of China. (These were works aimed at exposing the dark side of Communist China.) But after being subjected to the recent criticism, under political pressure he has failed to take a stand for what is right. His agreement to criticize himself has clearly disappointed the "spring" and "mother" from whom he has received so much love. (In his work "I Am Overwhelmed by the Love of Spring," Bai Hua compared himself to a tiny blade of grass, and the masses of his admirers to the spring breeze and rain, saying that "no one can repay his debt to his motherland, no matter how hard he tries to serve it.") He has also made clear that he has lost his fighting will, has become both physically and mentally exhausted, and has been extremely "dispirited!"

The poem also contains a passage on rosy clouds, exuding a sense of guilt as follows:

You are happy, because you dare to make sacrifices;
To make flowers flourish and grass grow,
You have devoted yourself to watering them
with tears!

Does this passage indicate a criticism of himself for hesitation to sacrifice himself in order to bring happiness to the people? His poem is so veiled but sincere that it profoundly moved me.

"A poet should keep reminding himself of what he can do for the nation in the future rather than his own miserable past." Poet, please do not give up!

9574

CSO: 4005/858

IMPERFECTIONS IN DRAFT CONSTITUTION DESCRIBED

Hong Kong CHENG MING [CONTENDING] in Chinese No 6, 1982 p 3

[Editorial: "The Big Loophole in the Draft Constitution"]

[Text] The new draft constitution is an improvement over the old constitution (as we have mentioned in our previous editorial). But we still see a big loophole in the new draft constitution, as we have detected in the previous three old constitutions, a loophole that needs to be eliminated!

The Chapter 1: The General Principle, Article 1 of the Draft Constitution states: "The People's Republic of China is a socialist state of the dictatorship of the proletariat led by the working class and based on the alliance of workers and peasants."

The so-called "the dictatorship led by the working class" is actually led by the Communist Party. In reaffirming the "four basic principles," the preamble in the draft constitution emphasizes the exercise of leadership by the Communist Party over the country. This is where the big loophole lies in the draft constitution. "Leadership" is a general term that defies explanation even in our dictionary. Certainly, the same is true of the ambiguous term "leadership of the Communist Party." Although the relationships between the state organs and people, and the functions of the people's congresses, are explicitly stipulated in legal terms in the draft constitution, there is no elaboration on the "leadership of the party."

What is wrong with that?

A big hole up there!

If the "leadership of the party" emphasizes only the provision of ideological and political guidance or guidance in the area of political line, which proves correct or consistent with the people's interests, such leadership should deserve endorsement by all. But if the "leadership of the party" means dictatorship putting everything under its command, or a form of interference in all aspects of life, and if it means putting the party in the place of the government, or the "exercise of dictatorship by a single party" which may become "one-man dictatorship" or "dictatorship under one supreme leader," such "leadership of the party" may probably "lead" the people on the road

toward tragedy and "steer" the country to the abyss of danger. Is it possible to remove the memory of the catastrophic events of 1957, 1958 and 1966 connected with the "leadership of the party" when they made suggestions to the party. Peng Dehuai was falsely accused of forging an "anti-party clique" because he frankly advised Mao on matters of his interest, while the then head of state Liu Shaoqi was jailed by party chairman Mao Zedong for the same reason. There are prominent marks left by the "leadership of the party" of the Mao Zedong era. Although at that time the constitution was in force, taking advantage of its ambiguous provision on the exercise of leadership by the party over the country, dictators and autocrats were able to push their political foes and other people around as they wished under the cloak of the fundamental law of the land. "Leadership," and "leadership," how many wicked men have had their way in your name!

Over the past several years, it appears that the shadow of dictatorship over the heads of the people has begun to fade away under the slogans "uphold the leadership of the party" and "separate the party from the government" emphasized and proposed by the high-ranking members of the CCP Central Committee. Despite this, these senior officials still continue to publicize the Communist Party as the "party in power," while the facts of life in the country also prove that the "leadership of the party" remains widespread everywhere. For example, the Hangzhou Municipal Party Committee recently hurriedly removed a big corrupt official Sun Xiaoquan [1327 2556 3123], director of the Hangzhou Municipal Cultural Bureau, from office after he was found guilty of stealing a large quantity of paintings and cultural relics from the public treasure-house. Handling the Sun case in such a light-hearted manner has infuriated the people. The harm done by the Hangzhou Municipal Party Committee does not stop here! What the committee wanted the people to accept in this case is nothing but an idea that the party can take the place of the government and the court. In the final analysis, can we call this the "leadership of the Communist Party" as indicated in the new draft constitution or the "leadership of the Communist Party" found guilty of violating the constitution?

All intelligent Chinese people can no longer accept the concept of placing the party above the state, the people and the court, and giving it power to trample under foot the democratic rights. This approach to allow the party to take the place of the government, to put everything under its command, and to interfere in all aspects of life will certainly result in further alienating the masses from the party. The Communist Party must draw experiences and lessons from history and make a breakthrough in seeking an answer to the question about the "leadership of the party" in order to solve "its credibility crisis" and enforce rule by law in a true sense.

We believe that the Chinese Communist Party must emphasize the exercise of moral leadership and give up leadership armed with a power baton. What does the moral leadership mean? It means that it must demonstrate extraordinary and unusual firmness, enthusiasm, and exemplary spirit in the implementation of the correct political line, principles and policies it has adopted in consultation with the people (but not behind closed doors) and in the service of public interest, the country and the people. Meanwhile, it must strive to

influence and lead the people through the demonstration of such firm, energetic and exemplary spirit. In a pledge to demonstrate this spirit, the Communist Party must make itself part of the masses (instead of placing itself above the masses), draw lessons and strength from them, and accept their suggestions and supervision. It must return that power baton to the people or the organs of state power.

As seen from the surface, the new draft constitution is devoted to strengthening democracy and rule by law, and working against the tradition of concentrating all powers on the party. But only after the relationships between the party and the government and between the party and the masses are clearly reflected in the constitution along with the belief that the people and the state are more valuable than the party can the constitution be protected from becoming a camouflage of autocracy and be converted into a driving force for promoting the development of the people's cause!

We hope that the Chinese Communist Party and its advisers will consider our proposal to eliminate that loophole in the draft constitution receptive.

9574

CSO: 4005/919

MERITS, DEMERITS OF WESTERNIZATION MOVEMENT REVIEWED

Hong Kong CHENG MING/CONTENDING in Chinese No 6, 1982 p 82

[Article: "What Is the Standard for Evaluation of the Westernization Movement?"]

[Text] What is the standard for evaluation of the Westernization movement? In his article entitled "Social Practice Must Be Used as a Yardstick for Evaluating the Westernization Movement" published in the issue No 1 of TIANJIN SHEHUI KEXUE [TIANJIN SOCIAL SCIENCES] of 1982, Qi Qizhang [2058 0366 4545] believes that there is but one yardstick in this case, that is, social practice.

The article points out: In evaluating the Westernization movement, some people have paid attention only to its subjective motives or original objective instead of the outcome of this practice, contending that its main objective was to preserve the feudal rule of the Qing Dynasty through the enforcement of a high-handed policy on the home front, and that even if it had a progressive role to play, it "never materialized." In disputing this view, the article says:

1. The Westernization movement was instrumental in enhancing the development of the social productive forces in China at that time. Under the slogans "strive for self-renewal" and "strive to make our country rich," and through the adoption of the Western capitalist production technology, the Westernization group provided the Chinese society with new things never seen before--modern industry employing machines in production. After military industry came mining, metallurgical, textile, communications and transportation enterprises, which were the first to introduce the capitalist productive forces to China. Although feudal character was predominant in their management system, the mode of production was capitalist in nature. These enterprises also trained a number of personnel in modern science and technology. Experiences they accumulated in this field provided conditions essential to the growth and development of the national capital in China.

2. Although not totally uncompromising, the Westernization group's attitude toward imperialist aggression was mainly one of resistance and counterattack, a departure from the Manchu government's basic policy of concession and capitulation. The Shipbuilding Administration set up by Zuo Zongtang in

Fuzhou was devoted to strengthening coastal defense against the West, while the modern navy built by Li Hongzhang was aimed at protecting the nation from foreign aggression. A review of one of their prominent achievements--the North China Sea Fleet--reveals that it was built and gained strength through a struggle against imperialist domination, including three sea battles in which it left an impressive mark in the history of war against imperialist aggression. Another of their achievements was the development of civilian industry as a bulwark in countering imperialist economic offensives, which, lately, did score some success in "curtailing the flow of profits from China to foreign firms," in "underscutting foreign encroachment on China and in preserving its sovereignty."

3. Historically, the Westernization movement was a wave of the future. The fact that the Westernization movement was strongly opposed by diehard conservatives who never stopped dreaming the dream of "their kingdom of heaven as a superior country" proved this point. Although the Westernization movement was committed to preserving the old foundation and to reforms within the framework of that foundation, it was instrumental in fostering a tendency to learn from the West, in developing a movement to enable people to broaden their vision of the world, and in convincing them that the "gunboats" were not the only factor that made the Western countries rich and strong, and that they now had no alternative but to change the "old conventions handed down by their remote ancestors."

The article says: The Westernization movement was the first modernization movement in Chinese history, and a new development. Although it failed, it sowed the seed of future success.

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CSO: 4005/919

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